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Etymologies

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ETYMOLOGIES.

(1) *concinnat*.

THIS verb is of quite general signification in Plautus = '*facit, reddit, comparat*,' and the like. Minuter definitions are given by the glossists, *e.g.* *συνκᾶπτύει* 'sews together' (this sense in *Men.* 426, 467), *arte facit aut componit, conflectit*; cf. also *concinnatura κόλλησις*¹ ('a gluing together'). In view of Latin *ciet* 'moves, stirs, shakes; excites, rouses; causes, occasions,' and of Greek *κινεῖ* 'sets in motion, moves, removes; changes, alters, sets agoing, causes, calls forth,' we might define *concinnat* by 'moves, draws, puts together, joins.'

Inasmuch as *κινεῖ* and *ciet* are causative to *κίει* 'goes,' the question arises whether *concinnat* 'causes to go together' can reach as specific a force as 'joins,' for if we get to 'joins' (cf. joiner 'carpenter, builder') we shall have solved all the difficulties of *concinnat*.

In Skr. *sampadāyati* ('causes to go together') much the same meanings develop as *concinnat* shows, and the participle *sampannas* coincides very minutely with *concinnus* in its significations: on this evidence we may conclude that the vague 'moves together' may reach the definiteness of 'drives, draws, puts together; arranges, adjusts, disposes; prepares, "fixes," makes.' We may compare also German *zusammen stossen* 'to push together,' with the specific sense of 'to bind close, to stitch together.'

But a trace of another and somewhat more definite meaning for *concinnat* shows itself in Naevius, ap. Nonium, 90, 25

transit Melitam Romanus, insulam integram, <oram>
urit, populatur, uastat, rem hostium concinnat,

where the interpretation of *concinnat* is attested by the gloss *concinnare* 'hic dissipare, alibi componere.' The sense 'dissipat' (trans.) very directly suggests a comparison of *concinnat* with Homeric *κίδναται* 'scatters' (*i.e.* 'splits up,' intrans.), which in turn seems but a specialization of the meaning of the root of Skr.

¹ Prellwitz gives no root for *κόλλα* 'leim,' but in view of English *sticks*=glues, we may regard *κόλλα* as a specialized derivative of the root *s)kel-*; cf.

Russ. *kolōtī* 'stechen.' For the sense 'stechen' cf. Solmsen in P.Br. B. 27, 366, questioned by Walde, s.v. *clades*.

khidāti 'stoest' (: Lat. *caedit* 'cuts'), *chinátti* 'splits.' Thus *con-cinnat* again suggests *zusammen stoest* 'shatters' (=scatters 'dissipat') and 'stitches together' (quasi 'componit').

From this point of vantage we may interpret Homeric ἀκιδνότερος 'disordered, ἄκοσμος' (ε 217, θ 169); 'inconsistent, οὐ κατὰ κόσμον' (σ 130), as the opposite of Latin *concinnus* 'orderly, κοσμητός.'

The above note on *concinnat* originally formed part of my 'Studies of Latin Words in -*cinio*-, -*cinia*-' (*C.R.* 18, pp. 303-307; 349-351; 461-463), from which, along with a study of Plautine *conticinnum* and *percontatur*, it was separated as not an integral part of the subject. It has been held for several years, pending a fresh study of *conticinnum* and *percontatur*, but I now bring it forward à propos of Prellwitz's recent treatment of *concinnat* in *K.Z.* 41, 202. In connection therewith it is also expedient to consider

(2) *cinnus*, *cinnavit*, *ciniflo*.

These words occur in Goetz's corpus of Latin glosses as follows:

cinnus 'νεῦμα'; 'tortio oris,¹ unde dictus est *cicinnus*' (v.l. *cacinnus*).

cinnavit 'innuit, promisit.'

If *cinnus* is for **cīnus* (cf. the phenomena examined by Vendryes, *Intensité Initiale* § 139) we may paraphrase 'tortio oris' by 'motio oris,' and so make *cinnus* a participle of *ciet* 'movet.' Likewise *cinnus* 'a mixed drink' may be explained by what we call a 'shake,' or more accurately as a 'stir,' quasi 'Rührtrink.' But even here, recalling Fr. *couper* 'to mix' (wine with water), we might start with **cidnus*: *caedit*. In view of a phrase like 'to cut (round) the eyes' *cinnus* 'tortio oris' admits the same explanation (from **cidnus*).

With *ciet* 'moves; calls' belongs Goth. *haitan* 'to command; name,' semantically illustrated by *appellat*, and by κέλλει 'movet': κέλεται 'bids' (cf. Brugmann, cited by Walde): in *cinnavit* 'innuit, promisit' we are close to the sense κέλεται. But if *cinnavit* lends itself to explanation from **cīnat* 'moves,' *concinnat* 'vastat' seems rather to proceed from -*cidnat*; while *concinnat* 'fixes, arranges, stitches' is satisfactorily accounted for by either derivation.

The word *ciniflo*, the length of whose penult may be due to position, would seem to mean 'arranger, ornatrix': it is glossed by γυναικῶν κοσμητής. Unless the word is a compound its *f* cannot be genuine Latin, but is dialectic. If it is a derivative, I posit **kine-dhlom*, a stirring instrument of some kind, whence **ciniflōn*-, the user of that instrument. Perhaps the object was some sort of 'bangle, pendant, drop,' cf. the gloss *ciniflo* 'ornamenta mortuorum vel mulierum.' On this supposition the abnormal *f* of -*flo* may owe its retention to a popular association with *flatur* 'blows' (? shakes, trembles). For the vocalism, *cīni*:- κινεῖ, cf. κινάθισμα 'motion, rustling.'

¹ Perhaps English *squint* is ultimately allied.

(3) κῆδος.

Prellwitz in his lexicon separates κῆδος 'care' from κῆδος 'affinitas.' Is this necessary? The former certainly belongs to words derivable from the base **s)k(h)ē(y)-d(h)-** 'caedere.' The latter clearly signifies a marriage alliance (Thuc. 2. 29; Herod. 7. 189; Soph. *O.C.* 379), but it seems to mean 'race' (kindred) in Aeschylus (*Supp.* 331), and possibly means 'scion' in Euripides (*Phoen.* 77). As a contract was something struck (see *Am. Jr. Phil.* 26, 176 fn. 3, 181) the sense (marriage) 'contract' admits of the correlation of κῆδος with *caedit* 'κόπτει.' The further senses of 'scion, branch' (of a family) are also derivable along the chain 'cutting, twig, branch.' The *ā* of the Greek dialects is explicable, in terms of the reigning theories of vocalism, as a secondarily lengthened *ə*.

(4) κίων.

The word κίων 'column' may conceivably belong with κίει 'moves, goes,' cf. Skr. *cāraṇas* 'foot, column': *carāti* 'moves, goes' (? Lat. *columna*: *colit*), and if κίων = Arm. *siun* is a correct equation we are thrown back to a base **kē(y)-**. Fick and Prellwitz write the root *kēi-*, but no necessary connection with *τινάσσει* 'shakes' exists. We find the same metaphor in German *Säulengang* 'peristyle, colonnade'; cf. also *στυλοβάτης*.

The original sense of many verbs of motion was 'cuts' (see *Am. Jr. Phil.* 26, 198), and κίων may have meant originally something like 'truncus.' For a base **kē(y)-** (or **kē(y)-**) 'caedere' we may also cite *κίς* 'grub,' *cimex* 'bug'; while the curious juridical Latin *herctum ciere* 'to divide an inheritance' may attest the same sense. Here also I put Skr. *ḥīyate* 'cadit,' with sense like Lith. *krintù* 'cado': Skr. *krntāti* 'caedit.' I have likewise associated Lat. *cadit* with *caedit*, base **s)k(h)ē(y)-d(h)-** (see *Am. Jr. Phil.* 26, 396), though Skr. *ḥad-* 'cadere' attests **k**; but it will hardly be denied that **kē(y)-** (**kē(y)-**) and **s)khēy-** may have a common origin: and so even the forms **cīnus* and *cinnus* of no. 2 may be looked on as variant rather than entirely distinct forms.

(5) κεδνός.

Bezenberger's explanation of κεδνός as 'cui ceditur' (see Prellwitz, *s.v.*) does not seem to me adequate. All the more, since *cēdit* 'grants; yields, retires' is probably a secondary development from the root of *caedit* 'cuts' [see this writer in *Am. Jr. Phil.*, *l.c.*; and note phrases like 'cuts class' (=absents oneself from), 'there is danger of his cutting' (=running away)]. After a study of all the Homeric instances, the most adequate and comprehensive definition I can give to κεδνός is 'certus,' supplemented by 'κριτός,' words which themselves come from a base **skerē(y)-** 'scheiden, entscheiden, bestimmen,' extended from **sker-** 'caedere.' Similarly κεδνός may come from the base of *scheidet*, *caedit*, viz. **sk(h)ē(y)-d(h)-**, to which σκεθρός 'careful, precise,' a partial synonym of κεδνός, also belongs.

(6) *vitricus*.

In *Class. Rev.* 11. 74, I explained *vitricus* as from **vi-ptricus*. About the same time Prellwitz (*B.B.* 23, 69) advanced the same explanation, but he does not yet seem (see *K.Z.* 41, 202, anm.) to have learned of my contemporary suggestion. This reconstruction has been pronounced 'lautgeschichtlich zu gewaltsam' (Brugmann, *I.F.* 16, 493), and 'tout à fait gratuite' (Vendryes, *l.c.* p. 239). On the other hand Ciardi-Dupré, in *B.B.* 26, 211, thinks that four-syllabled words of the type of **vi-patricus* may have suffered syncope of the post-tonic vowel after a *p*, and possibly after other surd mutes. The curious misfortune that almost all the examples of syncope are of the *rettulit* type, and may come from **redtetulit*, etc. reduced by haplology, leaves no absolutely certain example. On the other hand no unimpeachable disproof of Ciardi-Dupré's formula can be offered, if due weight be given to factors like 'recomposition' and 'rederivation' (*facilius* not **facilus* because of *facile*).

The syncope question has been lately dealt with by Exon in an acute paper in *Hermathena* (14, 117 sq.), in which he attributes all cases to the effect of the historical Latin accent (penultimate and, in long words, secondary); except the case of *officium*, from **ôpificium*, for which he suggests a formula for five-syllabled words, not unlike the formula of Ciardi-Dupré.

Prof. Exon wishes to find absolute uniformity in cases of syncope and would fain reject any distinction between quick-speech and slow-speech. But the modern phoneticians demonstrate that this distinction is not a fiction, but a reality, as a glance at the slow and quick transcriptions in Passy and Rambeau's *Chrestomathie Française* will show.

Of the Plautine words like *facilius* (⌚⌚⌚⌚) I have no complete list, but none of the words mentioned in Exon's paper can be held to prove that ⌚⌚⌚⌚, at least in the allegro tempo, was never reduced to ⌚⌚⌚; *columine* (once in Plautus) may be due to *côlumen* (three times); *bálinēae* (from βαλανεῖον) need not have had the same phonetic treatment as a really Italic word of the rhythmic type ⌚⌚⌚⌚; *nuculeum* (acc.) belongs, especially in view of *nucula*, to the class of diminutives, cf. *equuleus*: *equulus*: *equus*, *aculeus* 'sting': *acus* 'needle,' *trulleus*: *trulla*, *h)inuleus*: ἐνεδος, *pilleus*: πῖλος, *platalea*: *platea*. Further, the accident that *nucleus* and *nucula* apparently end in *-culeus*, *-cula*, puts them in the category of diminutives in *-culus*, not syncopated in Plautus (cf. Lindsay *Class. Rev.* 6. 87, and Vendryes, *l.c.* § 26).

But, all deductions made, and disregarding *officium* from **opificium*, the derivation of *optumus* from **opitumus* (so Walde) yields no negligible evidence for the syncope of ⌚⌚⌚⌚ to ⌚⌚⌚, and the semantic alienation of *optumus* 'best' from **opitumus* 'richest' makes this evidence the stronger. Vendryes, who (*l.c.* § 273) shies at this derivation, himself thinks it possible that *propter* arose in the rhythmic group **prôpētērmē* (§ 274). Thus we have rhythmic parallels for the shift from

**vipatricus* to **viptricus*. A parallel for *-ptr->-tr-* I cannot adduce, but the assumption does not seem to me 'gewaltsam.'

A further objection to this explanation of *vitricus* is offered by Walde, *s.v.*: 'die ableitung *-icus* ist dieser auffassung ungünstig.' Wherefore? Note the following glosses for *vitricus*, all derivations of the word *pater*, viz. *πατρώος*, paternus, patreus, patraster, patricus; also noting Greek *πατρώος* and *πατρυίος*. True, Skr. *vi-mātar-* 'step-mother' has a prefix but adds no suffix to *mātár-*; but how does that militate against a pleonastic **vi-patricus*, where both the *vi-* and the *-icus* contribute the notion of 'step-' to 'father'?

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POSTSCRIPT.¹

The Editor has raised the question of the quantity of the *i* in *vitrum* 'woad.' I do not know the quantity, but a demonstrated *ī* in the word for 'woad' would not disprove, necessarily, its identity with *vitrum* 'glass.' A chief constituent in glass-making, and itself a glass-like mineral—thinking of the cloudy whitish glass—was *nītrum* and we may admit that as **vitrum* 'woad' was acquiring the sense 'glass' it was affected by the rhyme-word *nītrum*.

The base to which the words for 'woad' were referred was, in a weak stage, **width-** / **wid-**. Such a base is best regarded as an extension of the base **wē(y)-** 'caedere, scindere.' In *Am. Jr. Phil.* 26. 194, I have collected sundry derivations of this base, including Latin *vitium* 'culpa' (defined as on p. 15, above) and *vītat* 'shuns, avoids, forsakes.' For the derivation of the sense 'shuns'² from 'cuts' any large English lexicon will give examples under *cut*, and Englishmen have a telling example in the last line of Calverley's poem, *Isabel*.

I would now derive Lat. *vitrum*, not as I originally did from **wid-**, but rather from **wi-t-**, as in *vitium*. As to formation, *vitrum* 'quod finditur' may be compared with Skr. *chidrām* 'quod caeditur,' Sabine *cuprum* 'quod cupitur, Lat. *scabrum* 'quod scabitur' (? scabit).³

¹ *Supra*, p. 23.

² I would derive *shuns* from the base **sk(h)ā(w)-**, parallel with **sk(h)ē(y)-** 'caedere' noted several

times above. See *Am. Jr. Phil.* 26. 35; 396.

³ Examples from Brugmann, *Grundriss*,² ii. pp. 348, 352.